/130 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

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[196]

Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1).

[191]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128 Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/131 cont./

## The Agricultural Calendar

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241 Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. [539] "September, get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one gathers the Barbary figs. [233] The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended with the ſchura or amſchur. [796] Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, [539] yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th [178] inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

/132 cont./

221 241 178 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, deplored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laqnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 241 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable period of the thirteen days of lqâleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The [233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe. [539] And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is already advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f$^{w}$brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," àg$^{w}$las, for fodder.

/134 cont./

Division of the Agrarian Functions

121 In the matter of descriptive ethnology, let us be suspicious of the present narrative saying in French: "les ait X font ceci ou cela" /the ait X do this or that/. And let us be suspicious above all if it is a matter of Chleuh /Shluh/ who have, in order to respond to this kind of question, the well-known "habitude mode," used to render the repetition or the intensity of the verbal idea, but, let us be /135/ sure, without the least preoccupation with statistical control (1).

1. This error in shading appeared at the time of the translation of the first Moroccan texts assembled by S. A. Boulifa and has become a law of the genre.

Where the informant thinks: "there are people who . . . ," the ethnologist records a general rule, to the delight of the interpreters at second hand. And nevertheless it is of very great importance whether the practice is the act of the ensemble or indeed of the majority of the group, or only of a qualified specialist or indeed of an aberrant one.

241 • 796 [121] It is this sort of verification that we have devoted ourselves to concerning a question already dealt with by the authors (2):

2. Pointed out for the first time, it seems, in what concerns Morocco, by E. Laoust, Mots et Choses /Words and Things/, p. 313. For the general "ambiance," cf. also E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, t. II, Ch. XVI.

that of the agrarian initium, itself sometimes but not always linked to that of favorable or unfavorable days and of seasonal rites. Interesting differences between families reveal themselves, and it is thus of great interest to know up to what point of generality this practice is observed in Seksawa. It has not kept there,

241 /135 cont./
796 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has fallen into disuse. One is called only bab ilkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original source./

241 796 619 634 184

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Chŝib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

[525] [782] [787]

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the mountain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

[782]

Rektu wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uŝziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sŝid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqŝleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

[784]

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

[784]

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 796 619 634 184 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Monday: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma [613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] [613] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.

[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a. [578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur; [262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.

[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; irrigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning [578] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr; [262] battle by blows with clumps of grass. [541]

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest

634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj

[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:

[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Abdellâ. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these
241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that
796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./

121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation, in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
634 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
[184] the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner. The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity. To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, Imud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
[554] Idma, of the a. Bumellut[1] in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/138 cont./
241 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
796 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the
613 autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[782] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
[541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

171 are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

/138 cont./

171 the traditionalist have one, each in his fashion, and /139/ manifestly none of them feels bound by the group. An important nuance. It happens that, defying the Berbère /Berber/ enthusiasms of our ethnology, the Arab populations display a wealth of customs much more general in application and more ardent in belief than our montagnards (1).

1. This is evidently an impression, which statistical analysis should cross-check.

Thus there are the games of the night of amâchur (ar. /Arabic/: the ᶜAchûrâ): the choᶜala of the Ud Besseba ᶜ redden the plain, whereas the tijuffa of the Seksawa, and especially of the Dwiran, are evidently rarer and less frequented. This celebration, that of the prophetic Mîlâd and of the Aid Lkbir have moreover served as connecting links between many native rites and the orthodoxy
• 796 that legitimates. Thus, the a. Abdella make the fires of
241 amâchur a reminder of those that Abraham miraculously survived,
184 when he was thrown in by Nemrod. The distributions of dry fruits, when the tillage is set in motion, are general in Seksawa, but tinted with an avowed nuance of fancy and gratuitousness: they "do good," nothing more. Of two neighboring cantons of the Nfifa, in the Dir, the one, the Amejnas, scarcely knows but a tiny minority to practice this custom; and the latter, immediately next to it, in the Wâd l-Ibûr, experiences, under the picturesque name of jawjaw, a universal and warm application.

Thus one finds, from taqbilt to taqbilt, from village to village, for these different orders of facts, the most diverse degrees of generality, of affective intensity, and of "sacred" coloration. But this degree is never completely that of the rite. Nor further is it ever only that of simple folkloric amusement, as still not long ago was the case among us for the fires of Saint John /Midsummer Day/.

What is striking in any case, or should have struck the observers where the practices of initium prevail, is precisely the antithesis between the incertitude of their content and the clear

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796 241 184 functional divisions that they evoke here and there. Today, in themselves, they are no more than a heteroclite mass of facts breaking out of context. What remains of them is precisely the unequal distribution that they express between groups, or, within the group, between ikhs-s. Their extreme erosion, often reaching -- but not always -- the stage of folklore, often also preserving some ritual emphasis, discourages a general interpretation. At the very least, these inequalities, in their constancy or effacement, their generality or rarity, let two things be glimpsed under them. First, a plurality of persons. And, on the other hand, among these persons, certain relations observed better and better /140/ as one penetrates into the montagnard privacy. These relations, finally, are perhaps the vestige of old links between the structure of the groups, the agrarian life, and a magico-religious division of labor between the collective subjects. But the vestige is being effaced under the reconstructions.

241 121 Here one arrives at a very important idea -- as will be seen -- for the rest of this study. A complete enumeration has been necessary to establish it. Will it be necessary to make the present chapter heavy by other monographs? Permit us to refer to the publications where we have treated the two subjects whose development should logically come at this place.

First we have shown (1)

1. "Un glossaire notarial...," R. afr., 1950.

to what point the dry agriculture of the Seksawa contrasts with their irrigated horticulture, by the connections that it preserves with the spontaneous flora. Alimentation has not been completely separated from gathering. The profusion of edible plants, revealing man's efforts at appropriation in the natural milieu, contrasts with the monotony of the cultivated varieties. The latter have been subject to the influence of history. In particular, it is probable that maize, from the sixteenth century, has been substituted for millet as sole of spring; it has made this old African crop, bound up with the use of the hoe, retreat. On the

791 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not [616] see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats be- [783] tween antithetical groups (1); [789]

1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa. [173]

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

241 796 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/251 cont./

241 One of the most curious ones, and which, something to re-
796 member, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes
[798] place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

[184]

2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character [182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function. [183] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

[Ait Lh'sen]

/253 cont./

128 But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

221 796 The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^e) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called lmârûf n-tgellatin, "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ljâmâ, timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

241 796 794 It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stipulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certan tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the musem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

[Ait Lh'sen]

241 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3).

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[263]

3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flowerpots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

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533 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears
[574] the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt, where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi
796 ethnology (1).
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1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

796 The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivi-
[634] sions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u'Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

798 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

# [Ait Abdella]

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| Name of the groups officiating | Name of the sanctuary | Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion | Nature of the dues or feast | Time of celebration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bul$^{c}$wân, Taqennurt. | Sidi Ghânem. | This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib. | Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley. | March. At the threshings. |
| Taqennurt. | Sidi Mh'and Aregrag. | Indeterminate. | Mârûf: a goat. | September. |
| Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen. | Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal. | | Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer. | February. |

[Ait Abdella]

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 221 241 776 778 782 796 | Bul$^{c}$wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis). | Sidi Abderrah'man u Sâid. | Ancient, indeterminate. | Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats.<br>Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds. | September.<br>At the harvest. |
| | Bul$^{c}$wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz. | Mosques: timezgadiwin. | | Mârûf, biannual. | At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest. |
| | Agawz. | Sidi bu Çwalh'l. | Ancient, indeterminate. | Mârûf: a goat. | September. |
| | The ensemble of the a. Abdella. | Sidi Ali Aregrag; sidi Abderrah'man. (Zaoulas of Tiburiin and Talsint.) | Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga. | Mârûf: a bovine. | First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga. |

/258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques, one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

| Name of the groups serving | Name of the sanctuary | Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion | Nature of the dues or feast | Period of celebration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tamt'ddit. | Ah'med u Amer. | Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him. | Mârûf. | Summer. |
| | | | Mârûf. | With the rains. |
| | Mosque. | | Agape. | Irrigation of the barley. |
| Tagunit and Tamezgurt. | Sidi Messâud u Âbdallah. | Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa. | Mârûf. | Summer. |
| | Sidi Azza. | Indeterminate. | Mârûf. | Departure to mountain pastures. |
| | Mosque. | | Agape. | Irrigation of the barley. |
| Tamezgurt. | Sidi bu Lqnadil. | Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa. | Mârûf. | Summer. |
| | Mosque. | | Agape. | Irrigation of the barley. |

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 221 241 716 718 782 796 | Tinwalin. | Sidi Borrja. Mosque. | Indeterminate. | Agape. | Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley. |
| | All the Imt'ddan. | Tamejlocht. | Mansion of Lalla Aziza. | Rite of absolution. | Irrigation of the barley. |

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

| Name of the groups serving | Name of the sanctuary | Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion | Period of celebration |
|---|---|---|---|
| Igernssuq. | Regraga. | Indeterminate. | |
| | Sidi Brahim u Sliman. | -- | |
| | Lalla Mbarka u H'med. | -- | |
| | Timezgida Iregragen. | -- | |
| Tannammert and lower a. Musa. | Sidi bu Merwan. | Indeterminate, place of taking oaths. | The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./ |

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acdduyws]

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 221 241 776 778 982 796 T'abya. | Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi. | Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope." | Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf. |
| | Timezgida Ugni. | Ind. "Monsieur light." | |
| | Sidi Tifawt. | | |
| Tabratjut. | Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and. | Indeterminate. | |
| | Uh'ormi. | Ind. The saint "of the asylum." | |

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Âmer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins á pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

## Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable [241] [221] there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract.

794 212 875 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together [634] only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [312] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the [423] liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, l. 7-8n. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ᶜuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

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794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recompense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of administration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi$^{c}$t, itself in close relations, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints, tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

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1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII$^{e}$ siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi$^{c}$t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Abdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
● [796] quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the beginning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars $^{c}$ajâmî (sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

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175 794 675 [796] [126]
the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a [782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or 796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in 675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from [796] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at [423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this [432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never [452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus [693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391 ]

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2 000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Âzzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, of the issue of the Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Âmer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Âmer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Âzzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Âzzt. If it should be identified with the names of Âzzô or Âzzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

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346 794 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except 794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small 173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes [784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away. [211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence 776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to [778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the [619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin, [634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on [796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few [443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations [692]

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ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to settle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

## The Fisc of the Holiness

The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

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794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi$^{c}$t, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futûh'ât. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obûs, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one. 794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand, 578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/ hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate [691] the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in [692] 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Seksawa, constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial de- 794 duction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

## The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments [794] of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even [796] describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any [128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

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776 "The Sultan wanted to make the acquaintance of Lalla Aziza and had her summoned to Marrakech. She went there and continued to be noticed in the city for her piety and for the good that she did around her. She was very honored, but her influence became so great that the Sultan took offense, and Lalla Aziza was thrown into prison. Several times an attempt was made to poison her, but each time that the poisoned dish was presented to her, she refused to eat any of it.

"One day, however, it was her most faithful servant who offered her the poison. Then she said: 'For God I shall eat some of it and for God I shall die.'

"But before doing so, she demanded that, once dead, her body would be tied on a mule and that it would be buried where the mule stopped.

"She ate some of the poisoned dish and died. As she had wished, her body was placed on a mule, which left immediately but could not be followed. The same day, it arrived at the Seksawa, where the body was recognized and buried with great ceremony.

"The inhabitants of Marrakech then erected a beautiful cupola in honor of the saint and obtained permission from the Sultan that the body would be placed there. The transfer took place, but it could be confirmed, several days later, that the body reposed simultaneously in the capital and at the Seksawa. It was then that the Sultan decided that a Kouba /kubba/ identical to that of Marrakech would be built in the mountains."

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114 Brives subsequently devotes only a few lines to the ceremony. Let us thus leave his account in order to gather together a certain number of facts that do not seem to have struck him and whose importance for the meaning of the rite and for its import is considerable.

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The Rite

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782 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember, H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession [533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor, Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head." This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat [787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae, [634] while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of [171] hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

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796 782 initial gathering above sidi bu Lqnadel (connection with the old royal cycle?) and the direction of the procession. It is carried out from upstream downstream, even for the offerings from the plain. This latter trait and the mediocrity of the affluence contrast radically with what happens at the feast of the Mîlâd.

At this time the richness and the precision of the rite are more perceptible, and the atmosphere without any doubt richer. [619] The victim is a cow, offered by the Imt'ddan and their a. Irro emigrants. Perhaps because they are the original group of the saint or, better, the substitute for this group. The victimary is traditionally furnished by the family of the a. Baqqa, from [619] Tagunit (Imt'ddan). It is also this taqbilt that supplies the flagellants. The procession departs from downstream, below the mosque. Same Prophetic litany. The victim is led, the one sacrificing it holding it by the left horn, a naked dagger /293/ in the right, as far as below the "house of Lalla Aziza." The house has an inner court and a high open chamber as loggia, and where women are gathered, as they are on the neighboring terraces. The whole infinitely motley. People armed with bludgeons precede the cow a little. They face it, screaming and brandishing bare sticks or olive branches. The victimary slits the throat of the beast. If [789] the latter rises in a jump, good omen. Cries, ho hos /Fr. youyous/, and confusion, amidst which a marabout from Assttif says the fâth'a, while the victim is skinned. It disappears under a yelling cluster of the faithful who rush beneath the blows to tear away some skin, some meat, by hand or with a knife. Upon the arrival of the cow, an old woman kissed it between the two horns. As soon as the blood spurts forth, there is a rush: one fills a bottle with it, another besmears his face, many the eyes. Simultaneously, the throats of two sheep are slit, one offered by Assttif, the other by Wanchkrir. The blood of hens colors, however, the downstream threshold of the zaouia. Then the degree of emotion, perceptible from the beginning, becomes extreme. Excitement reaches its peak. The animal, finally dismembered, is put to cook in the large pots that the house shelters. Divided into fragments, it will be carried in all directions by those present,

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so
[823] close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

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1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

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/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god ..., others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

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Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at sidi Brahim near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3),

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3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ᶜAli n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/294 cont./

796 782 182 and which in other ceremonies a laic or municipal climate attenuates or eliminates, bursts out here in all its zeal. In the region one would find such a force only at the October musem of sidi Ali u Brahim of the Idaw T'anan: the dispute is unleashed, not around a skinned victim, but around a paste to be eaten collectively.

In sum, the Mlid of Z'init', with an exceptional clearness and richness, comes under the jurisdiction of these rites by which rural societies perform "an uninterrupted series of concentrations and diffusions" (4)

> 4. Definition by H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice /Essay on the nature and function of the sacrifice/," Ann. soc., t. II, p. 114.

of the sacred, with the aim of assuring the continuation of the life of things and of drawing closer the relations of this life with that of the group. A difficulty, however, and even an anomaly. Not so much that the ceremony assumes an Islamic coloring; that is only normal. But how is one to explain that it has been dissociated from the July ceremony? The latter has remained purely civic and naturist. Its content has become impoverished, thinner. On one hand, seasonal insertion and official intervention of the groups. On the other, patronage of the Prophet, justifying, in an intense, ecstatic debauch, an old rite which is at the same time agrarian, expiatory, and /295/ communional. When did this dissociation intervene? The feast of yulyuz, also called musem or even muslem, would have been instituted less than a century ago, as other Seksawa musem-s have been subsequently. However that may be, the incontestable fact lies in the contrast between the two ceremonies and this kind of division of labor which operates between them. Let us take note of this characteristic, amenable to these meticulous balances or divisons that one finds so frequently in Chleuh /Shluh/ society, each time that it compounds with something that is not itself. In the case at hand, there is moreover a

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796 782 182 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the profane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

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1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

## The History

776 175 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle

776 551 171

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 [778] [634] Sidi ᶜÂmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜÂmer, has his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola 776 794 [778] of his son, ᶜÂmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that [776] here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

115 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late 776 ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga 794 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," 428 that ᶜÂmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that [487] unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its [666] support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed [631] it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/304 cont./

origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubtedly armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/ A Classic

The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual. And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ. According to one, he would have been an Idma, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-ᶜAlamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ᶜAlam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

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796 794 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 782 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, tighersiwin, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla [184] Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direction of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary. The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses 796 in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds. One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched with emphatic gesticulations, the h'ddit, "homily of instruction" on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audience, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of vow, ddu$^{c}$ā. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it reopen them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final collection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly intermixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interrogations ad hominem, shaking a sheet covered with characters that he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read, he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

/308 cont./

796 time applause, or rather what we would call a ban /measured applause/ (1).

1. For this society knows "applause," chchamkha. Expression of the mountebank, "A ban!", chchamkhat âli-h, a locution in which Arabic and Chleuh /Shluh/ blend.

[794] In the enormous hubbub of the crowd and animals, a note of youthful and poignant tenderness coming from the heart sometimes rises on a single tone: some tt'aleb invoking the name of God. From the level of the crowd, of the commune, of the rural feast, this cry rises to another plane. It escapes the sociology of groups.

/309/ III. Individual Depassments

128 God among the Seksâwa

"A god understood is not a god (1)."

1. R. Otto, Le Sacré /The Sacred/, tr. 1929, p. 45.

And this study would abandon the essential if it were limited to the rites, to the figures, in a word, to what can be apprehended from outside. On the inside resides the tremendum, "the mystery that makes one tremble."

114 781 On an August night a multitude descended the escarpments of the Tichka. The festivity, the whole day, was in full swing. But the signal to return had been given already at the evening meal, for it was better to make the difficult stage of the Tabgurt, a six hours' march, in the coolness. A French visitor, by way of an unbelievable slope with hairpin bends, plunged into darkness that even dulled the trembling glimmer of the candle ends, entrusted himself to his mount. There was nothing else to do. This was an

/339 cont./

613 671 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/ procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 [796] Each year, at the feast of the Mlâd, young men and young women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that [796] could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her [798] baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals." [582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

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/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

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But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

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/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a ṣadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

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Cl. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

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Cl. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are [592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
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241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

Pl. X

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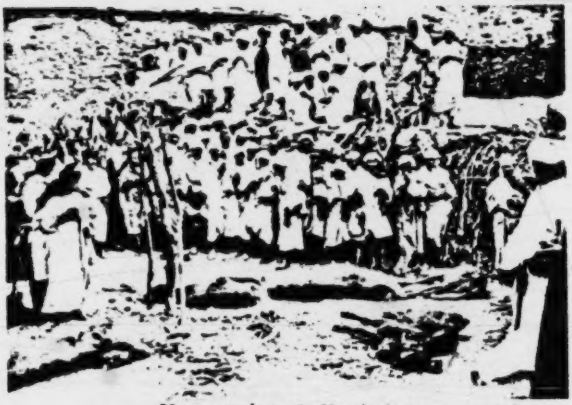

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza (J. L. Berque)

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

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(J. L. Berque)

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu$^{c}$a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

*631 [174] /168 cont./ conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 [648] [792] [642] At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ʿAli, disciple of Sidi Saʿid Ou ʿAbd en Naʿim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouʿazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

/169 cont./

*631 ᶜAli all the disputes that might have arisen among the limitrophe
619 fractions. When an external danger, especially the conquest of
•[796] the Makhzen /makhzan/, comes to threaten the country, the
[692] general "ajmoᶜa," the meeting of all the tribes under arms, is decided at the Souk el Khemis of Imouzzer, at the common frontier of the three tribes. Here, in spite of the divergence of local interests, despite the centrifugal tendency of the three tribes who find themselves in contact with different populations, the will to preserve independence vis-à-vis the foreigner has been strongest; it has sufficed in order to constitute an irreducible bloc
*631 made up of the most diverse ethnic elements. Here one perceives
*634 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ ideal of independence, alone
619 capable of agglomerating the social dust of the small elementary states; the permanent threat of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has sufficed to make the parceling of the country disappear, as if it were necessary, in order to create in the amorphous mass of the "taqbilt" some solid cores of resistance, to strike it with repeated blows (1).

1. One can compare the example of the Ida Ou Tanan with that of the independent tribes, neighbors of the summits of the Tichka, under the pressure of the kaids of Bouaboud and of Tagontaft. In the course of recent years the minor chief of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, has been dreaming, it is said, of uniting the scattered debris of the ancient, vanished confederation of the Genfisa, in order to reconstitute, for his profit, a republic of the Tichka. By this last means, the "amghar" would have attempted, thanks to a policy of union, to save the Berbère /Berber/ traditions from the inevitable ruin that threatens them. Our intervention came to overthrow these projects and changed the balance of the forces in the high mountains. But if the efforts of this minor chief had succeeded,

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*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed; but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda$^{c}$," each festival of the year, "$^{c}$Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "$^{c}$Aïd el Kebir," "$^{c}$Achoura," as well as marriages or
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632 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
*634 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
•796 nocturnal dances (2).
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2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attrac-
53 tive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest

/235 cont./

796 53 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 571 796 182 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 796 571 616 182 619 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike festivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" figure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the